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## Direct action in Europe

From AUSTIN UNDERWOOD

FULL use was made of the opportunities for discussion and planning of direct action in Europe when supporters of direct action against nuclear war met representatives of the Direct Action Committee in London over the week-end. The supporters of Direct Action met delegates from France, Germany, Norway and Sweden, and after the last meeting, which was with German trades unionists, an agreed statement was issued on the question of the proposed rocket base at Dortmund.

At a preliminary meeting on Saturday, Allen Skinner of the Direct Action Committee, Joyce Hazzard, acting secretary of the Committee whilst the majority of its members are in jail, Sheila Jones and myself as organiser of Direct Action in the West of England, met the delegates to explain the basis of British direct action projects.

At a meeting held on Saturday evening it was agreed to set up a European secretariat for direct action and pro-tem secretaries were appointed for each country. A nucleus of a committee in each country was also formed.

### Sahara and Dortmund

After a Sunday meeting, the following

## Missile base pickets withstand charge of the fire brigade

By JIM PECK

FIFTEEN firemen from Vandenberg Air Force Base, future home of the Titan Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile, near Lompoc, California, failed to disperse six picketing pacifists on December 24.

A full report on the incident was just released by five of the pickets, who are college students: Trent Brady, Bruce Benner, Mary Ann Meyers, George Weber and Dick Pierce. The sixth picket was Walter Chaffee, a college instructor associated with the Quakers.

The charge of the fire brigade followed an hour of fruitless attempts to intimidate the pickets into leaving, including a threat by the commander of the base's missile unit to call the US Marshal and have them arrested.

# VOTES AND THE BOMB

## AN EDITORIAL \*

THE Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War has announced that it proposes to send a letter to each MP and other prospective candidates in the general election in which all will be asked whether they will undertake to vote against the manufacture and stock-piling of H-bombs by Britain.

The Committee suggests that the right course for those who want a British renunciation of the H-bomb will be to withhold their votes where there is no candidate who is willing to give a clear undertaking in this sense.

This intention was the subject last week of an expostulatory letter from Frank Allaun, MP, who also took exception to the leading article in the previous issue of Peace News. This article had drawn attention to a leading article in Tribune seeking to rally support for the Labour Party in the coming general election in which Mr. Michael Foot had carefully omitted any reference to the H-bomb, despite the fact that his journal claims to stand for its renunciation by Britain and has indeed announced itself as the organ of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Rightly or wrongly, we have taken this article to imply that any support given by Labour supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament will be set aside for the duration of an election campaign on the assumption that it can be taken up once again when the election is over and the Party of Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Bevan has been safely returned.

We believe this assumption to be a delusion. For this reason we welcome Frank Allaun's letter and hope that it will be followed by others from other Labour MPs so that the question may be thoroughly discussed.

We want to say at the outset that we recognise it is a very difficult decision that people like Mr. Allaun have to make; and we appreciate this the more in the case of Frank Allaun because both pacifists and those associated with the campaign against nuclear weapons have found in him a very warm and helpful supporter.

### Anti-H-bomb MPs

The questions with which humanity is

by Frank Allaun which is bound to concern greatly those attached to the Labour Party. We have not urged that there is no difference between the Conservative Party and the Labour Party, and we have fully recognised that the record of the Labour Party over the Suez affair was admirable, although we have certain reservations about the Labour Party leadership at the beginning of that affair which we believe must be shared by many Labour Party members.

We concede readily that there may be some secondary disadvantages in the return of a Conservative Government, but on such matters of major importance like nuclear disarmament there is no significant difference between the official policies of the two parties.

We think that Frank Allaun has permitted himself to be less than candid in his references to tests and rocket bases. The Labour Party leadership has shown no very

### TO THE EDITOR

I AM very glad to learn from Mr. Allaun that he could "name



At a preliminary meeting on Saturday, Allen Skinner of the Direct Action Committee, Joyce Hazzard, acting secretary of the Committee whilst the majority of its members are in jail, Sheila Jones and myself as organiser of Direct Action in the West of England, met the delegates to explain the basis of British direct action projects.

At a meeting held on Saturday evening it was agreed to set up a European secretariat for direct action and pro-tem secretaries were appointed for each country. A nucleus of a committee in each country was also formed.

### Sahara and Dortmund

After a Sunday meeting, the following statement was agreed with the Germans:

"We have discussed principally the Sahara project and the more urgent problem of opposing the proposal made on Saturday to establish a rocket base in the highly populated industrial area of Dortmund.

"The establishment of rocket-bases has hitherto been in isolated and sparsely populated areas, but now the militarists have deliberately involved millions of people in a densely populated industrial area in their preparations for nuclear war.

"Talks have been held with supporters of direct action in Europe and with representatives of the German trades union movement with the object of establishing liaison between German trades unions who have a good record of opposition to nuclear weapons and a British direct action group which may be able to co-operate with them in opposing the establishment of this rocket base.

"A provisional plan of action in opposing the Dortmund base will continue to be organised both in Germany and in Britain, and this will be placed before the organisers of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War on their release from prison this week. Meanwhile we call upon the German people to oppose the establishment of this as the Direct Action Committee are opposing such bases here in Britain."

Two important facts emerged from the talks with German trades unionists: a meeting of 30,000 was held in Dortmund the previous week to protest against the supply of nuclear weapons to Germany; the Industrieller Gewerkschaft Metal Trades Union (roughly equivalent to the British AEU) in Frankfurt has guaranteed to support workers who refuse to work in nuclear

● ON BACK PAGE

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The charge of the fire brigade followed an hour of fruitless attempts to intimidate the pickets into leaving, including a threat by the commander of the base's missile unit to call the US Marshal and have them arrested.

"At 11.30 a.m. two large pumping trucks of the Air Force Fire Dept. drove from the centre of the base to the main gate," the report says. "About 15 firemen were present, and they began to uncoil their hoses and ready their pumping equipment.

### KNOCKED TO PAVEMENT

"The firemen began to spray the feet and legs of the pacifists, who continued marching. The high pressure hoses were then turned on, and the firemen directed streams of water at the heads and upper bodies of the marchers. When several of them had their signs knocked from their hands, but continued to walk, the firemen directed the water into the eyes and at the genitals of the pickets.

This continued for several minutes until one pacifist, Bruce Benner, was knocked to the pavement by a stream of water directed at his feet. He regained his footing and began to march again but was blinded by a high pressure jet and knocked down again, partly losing consciousness.

"As some of the pickets attempted to carry him to safety the firemen turned their hoses on them. The water knocked the shoes from the feet of Mary Ann Meyers. Several hoses were moved to block the pacifists' retreat, but they finally managed to carry Benner to a nearby car.

"George Weber, a Quaker, joined the pickets at 1 p.m. The hosing continued until 1.30, at which time the pumping trucks withdrew. The pacifists regrouped and continued their march. New signs, painted on newspapers and cardboard cartons, replaced those destroyed by the firemen. None of the pickets was seriously injured, although all were bruised from the water pressure. Picketing continued for about an hour and ended around 2.30."

Airmen have been safely returned.

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### Anti-H-bomb MPs

The questions with which humanity is faced today, however, are of such vital importance that in our view the right course to be pursued must take precedence over our feelings of personal sympathy; and it seems to us that pacifist and anti-H-bomb Labour MPs should not today regard themselves as exempt from the kind of emotional tension that has to be faced by every young war-resister when he decides that he will not accept military service.

Mr. Allaun concludes his letter by remarking that the various service estimates come before Parliament towards the end of February, and he asks whether there could not be "a lively and determined campaign" to get MPs to vote against estimates involving nuclear weapons. If Frank Allaun has ideas as to how such a campaign may be conducted we shall greatly welcome them. If such a campaign could be successful—even if it resulted in the 70 MPs Mr. Allaun knows to be in favour of the unilateral renunciation of the H-bomb voting in that sense—it would change the whole political situation, and would enormously simplify matters for those engaged in the Direct Action Campaign in the carrying out of the policy they hold to be necessary.

For indeed it is just such a campaign that the Direct Action Committee is contemplating, directed to the situation after an election rather than in advance of it. There is not a great deal of time before the end of February, but if a campaign such as Frank Allaun suggests could succeed it would be a much more satisfactory situation.

We shall doubtless be returning to this subject in subsequent discussion, but we should like to comment on one point raised

\*Frank Allaun, MP, will reply to our Editorial in next week's Peace News.

although we have certain reservations about the Labour Party leadership at the beginning of that affair which we believe must be shared by many Labour Party members.

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### TO THE EDITOR

I AM very glad to learn from Mr. Allaun that he could "name roughly 70 Labour M.P.s who believe in total unilateral renunciation of the bomb." As your readers may know, this is the defence policy that I recommend in the book "Defence in the Nuclear Age."

No subject could be more important. May I suggest that Mr. Allaun puts down a motion or moves an amendment to (say) the Ministry of Defence vote so as to give the other 69 M.P.s an opportunity of backing their beliefs in the Division Lobby.

If "roughly 70" British M.P.s would have the guts to vote in this way the national and international consequences would be enormous and highly beneficial.—STEPHEN KING-HALL, Hartfield House, Headley, Bordon, Hants.

great enthusiasm on either of these issues, and in each case the proposed cessation was provisional and thus had no genuine unilateral character. In the case of tests the Geneva Conference has changed the situation. It will either be a success, when the Labour Party policy of test cessation will have no relevance; or the conference will break down, in which event we do not think that Frank Allaun will have any more confidence than we have that the Labour Party's "official" commitment will continue to apply.

As for the rocket bases, these are of course now being constructed, and we question whether Frank Allaun would feel very confident in claiming that his Party will campaign on an undertaking to demolish them if returned as a Government.

The matters of major importance upon which the two Party leaderships have

■ ON BACK PAGE



# AMERICA'S INTERVENTION IN 1941

Montgomery Belgium, author of "Victors' Justice," contributes this article in the series "The Historical Blackout." The next article in the series will be by Harry Elmer Barnes and will deal with the events leading up to Pearl Harbor.

A BOOK by diverse hands which was published in the United States more than five years ago has now been sent to Peace News, and I am asked to review it. It is entitled "Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace,"\* but its purport is to describe not an actual unending war, but how the United States came to join in World War II and how little the Americans have got out of that war.

When I go on to say that the book was assembled by Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, who supplies an introduction and a conclusion, it will be obvious that here is no artless tale of Japanese aggression and German plotting, no portrait of Franklin Roosevelt in the benign rôle which he now permanently assumes in Grosvenor Square. For Dr. Barnes is known internationally to be no avid swallower of official hand-outs or even of the most palatable propaganda.

## Version of war denied

As long ago as World War I he was sceptical of the story put about, and generally received, of a Germany so bent on world domination that she leaped at the chance of taking on, with only the help of a doddering Austria-Hungary, the combined might of Russia, France and Britain. It was in 1926 that Dr. Barnes made his name a first time. "Genesis of the World War" was the book with which he did so.

It was designed to pull the wool off his countrymen's eyes by setting forth the unadorned results of his study of the historic sources. The received story was badly shaken.

Like Alfred Fabre-Luce in Paris, Dr. Barnes thus ranks among the pioneers of truth in contemporary war history, but the Russian Black Book having appeared in addition, only human ostriches now nurse illusions concerning 1914. With 1939 and 1941 it remains otherwise. The restricted public that is aware of foreign affairs at all is positive nearly to a man that Hitler cherished dreams of world conquest far

By MONTGOMERY BELGION

and the Coming of War, 1941,"\* from which several of them quote again and again. Beard's book came out in 1948, and a year or two later, when it appeared also in London, it was either ignored there or subjected to obloquy. The author's motives were impugned. Since his death some years ago his earlier writings, which before 1948 had been universally admired and valued, were suddenly discovered to be defective and to have relied on what was now said to be fake evidence. Then there was a booklet, "The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor,"† which John T. Flynn put out from his private address in New York as early as October, 1944. A Glasgow publisher, having sold out the copies he had had printed, sought to import further supplies. He was not allowed to.

## Roosevelt's strategy

It is not surprising if few in England are now better informed than they were in 1953. What has happened is that we have at least grown more disposed to listen while opinions or views which we have adopted rather superficially perhaps are stated to be baseless.

For now we are in no doubt of certain facts. We are in no doubt that when President Roosevelt announced at Casablanca early in 1943 that his government would insist on the enemy's surrender unconditionally, he was deciding to prolong the war needlessly—and to prolong it needlessly for the allies as well as for the enemy. We are in no doubt that it was President Roosevelt and American strategy that gave the Russians a hold upon the whole of Eastern Europe and that ensured that Berlin should be enclosed within the area of Germany allotted to Russian occupation.

As long ago as 1949 our own Major-General J. F. C. Fuller—who made his name with tanks in World War I—was so bold as to declare in an American military periodical‡ that American intervention in Europe had on each occasion—alike in 1917 and in 1941—been a major disaster for the inhabitants of these islands and of the Continent.

We should all be better off, General Fuller said as early as 1949, if we Europeans had been left to settle each of our two quarrels among ourselves. Then hos-

told destruction and the incalculable waste, was entirely the fault of American intervention. But what cannot be gainsaid is that, like a man-eating tiger which has once tasted human blood, the American government, having a second time savoured the sweets of interference abroad, acquired a relish for that sort of thing.

Thanks to Woodrow Wilson—the credit is all his, although it was the opposite of what he wanted—the United States withdrew from Europe after the peace conference of 1919. But after the two V-days of 1945 the United States put out tentacles reaching into every part of the world. Occupying pages 624 and 625 of "Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace" is a diagrammatic map of the world studded with the reception centres of the "men, money and arms" which the "US sends around the world". They make a dreadful rash.

No European who soberly weighs the combined effects over the last dozen years in the Far East, in Europe itself, and in North Africa, of American anti-colonialism and of American imperialism will fail to endorse the verdict of Mr. John Biggs-Davison, MP, in his book, "The Uncertain Ally" (1957), that American friendship and aid have been far from unmixed blessings, no matter upon whom bestowed.

## Effects of imperialism

The book which Dr. Barnes has edited makes three points, and it will possibly surprise some readers of Peace News to learn that one of the three is that American anti-colonialism and American imperialism have been equally deplorable for the Americans themselves. For one thing, they necessitate crushing taxation. For another, they exile to distant and strange lands a large personnel, with attendant wives and children, and so various are the widely scattered interests incurred that the American people are ever in danger of being embroiled in foreign fighting somewhere or other.

Dr. Barnes insists that American imperialism does yet more. He says that America's "needless entry into two world wars" "has converted the libertarian American dream of pre-1914 days into a nightmare of fear, regimentation, destruction, insecurity, inflation and ultimately in-

troops should overstep a certain line in Indo-China. The Japanese government proposed a summit meeting to settle the relations of the two countries and avert war. The proposal was not even answered. Finally the Japanese government was sent an ultimatum. That made war certain, and the Japanese reply to the ultimatum was Pearl Harbor.

What is still more serious, the allegation is that Roosevelt and the inner ring of his Cabinet withheld proper warning to the commanders at Pearl Harbor, General Short and Admiral Kimmel, although Washington was intercepting and deciphering the Japanese coded messages, and a surprise attack upon the Hawaiian Islands had become a strong possibility. Once the attack had been delivered, moreover, the local commanders were held to blame. In "Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace" Admiral Harry E. Yarnell, who commanded the United States Asiatic Fleet, is quoted as follows :\*

The most disgraceful feature of the whole tragic affair was the evident determination on the part of Washington to fasten the blame on the Hawaiian commanders. The incomplete and one-sided Roberts report, the circumstances of the retirement of Kimmel and Short, the attempts of the War and Navy Departments to deny access to intercepted messages by the Naval Court of Inquiry and the Army Board of Investigation, the appointment of secret one-man boards to continue investigations, and finally the inability of the Joint Congressional Committee to secure access to pertinent files, constitute a blot on our national history. And that quotation brings me to the third and last point which is made in the book. I have referred to the hold upon English opinion of the official version of events. I have mentioned the denigration and obstruction which met the appearance here of both a long and serious study of the evidence—Beard's—and a light and short sketch—Flynn's. In America itself what Beard and his followers had to bear was of course on a larger scale.

## Historical blackout

The third point made in "Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace" is that since the end of World War II the American public have been treated to a "historical black-out".



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Furthermore, once France was knocked out in 1940, and although Hitler went on to land the Russian Ursus Major on his back, England seemed unlikely to be able to free the world alone, and the fortunate concomitant of Japanese treachery at Pearl Harbor was that America came to our support with the whole weight of her inexhaustible resources, and together we were able to give Germany the knock-out blow.

The book which Dr. Barnes has edited does not dispute this version of how war came to the United States; it flatly denies it. That may go some way to explain why the book is still unheard of in Britain.

### **Book ignored**

To-day unquestionably it stands a better chance of being taken seriously in England than it could have had at the time it was published in far-away Idaho in 1953. It was not, indeed, the first piece of American heterodoxy about World War II to appear openly.

The contributors whose writing is sandwiched between Dr. Barnes's introduction and conclusion had mostly made their names with books which in the present pages they are content to summarise. But such heterodox writers have remained as good as unknown to us in England. And, as we shall see, they did not meet with much advertisement or encouragement in their homeland either. The great forerunner of them all was the late Charles A. Beard, with his book, "President Roosevelt

\*Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, USA, 1953, \$6.

are in no doubt that it was President Roosevelt and American strategy that gave the Russians a hold upon the whole of Eastern Europe and that ensured that Berlin should be enclosed within the area of Germany allotted to Russian occupation.

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We should all be better off, General Fuller said as early as 1949, if we Europeans had been left to settle each of our two quarrels among ourselves. Then hostilities would each time have ended in a negotiated peace, and certainly as regards World War II; he was convinced that such a peace could not have been as bad as the pseudo-peace or cold war to which we have been condemned since 1945.

### **Relish for interference**

In "Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace," Mr. George F. Kennan, the American diplomatist, is quoted in a passage from his book, "American Diplomacy, 1900-1950," as saying that the "two world wars in Europe" "were fought at the price of some tens of millions of lives, of untold physical destruction, of the destruction of the balance of forces on the Continent—at the price of rendering Western Europe dangerously, perhaps fatefully, vulnerable to Soviet power," and that if only we could have back again the Germany of 1913 it would be nothing like so bad as the problems which now confront the West\$.

Mr. Kennan concludes that the two wars, "in terms of their ostensible objective," produced no readily discernible gain. To-day everybody in the West must ruefully agree with him.

It does not follow of course that this meagre return for all the heroism and hardship, the monotony and dirtiness, the maimed bodies and disrupted lives, the un-

\*New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press.

†Called in this country "The Truth About Pearl Harbor." Glasgow, Strickland Press, 1945.

‡Ordinance Magazine, Washington, DC, for September-October, 1949. I owed my first knowledge of this article to Dr. Barnes, and the author of it has since kindly copied out an extract for me with his own hand.

\$Barnes, op. cit., pp. 610-11; Kennan, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

prise some readers of Peace News to learn that one of the three is that American anti-colonialism and American imperialism have been equally deplorable for the Americans themselves. For one thing, they necessitate crushing taxation. For another, they exile to distant and strange lands a large personnel, with attendant wives and children, and so various are the widely scattered interests incurred that the American people are ever in danger of being embroiled in foreign fighting somewhere or other.

Dr. Barnes insists that American imperialism does yet more. He says that America's "needless entry into two world wars" "has converted the libertarian American dream of pre-1914 days into a nightmare of fear, regimentation, destruction, insecurity, inflation and ultimately insolvency." The contribution to the book from Dr. George A. Lundberg examines this matter in some detail. If his argument is accepted, America's revocation of the Monroe doctrine, first in 1917, and then again in 1941, was to prove as damaging to the country's interests as it was disastrous for Europe.

It will be asked: But how could the United States have kept out of World War II? Surely after Pearl Harbor there was no alternative? The second point made in this book is that American intervention in 1941 was entirely gratuitous. Japan would have negotiated. The American people were all for peace. Roosevelt had been re-elected for a third term on the strength of his promise not to send the mothers' boys to fight under an alien sky.

### **Pearl Harbor provoked**

How, then, did Pearl Harbor occur? According to Charles A. Beard—and the contributors to this book, Charles Calan Tansill, George Morgenstern, William Henry Chamberlin, William L. Neumann and the others, do but repeat and confirm what Beard made known in 1948—Pearl Harbor occurred because it was the best means of rousing the American people to anger, the best way to make them fighting mad.

The allegation is that Roosevelt and his Cabinet—Cordell Hull, Stimson, and Frank Knox in particular—provoked Japan to strike the first blow, so that American troops could pour into Europe and North Africa and help England to smash Hitler. For months in 1940 and 1941 Roosevelt had American warships patrol the Atlantic in the hope of provoking an incident which would drive Germany into war.

This having not come off, he turned to Japan. Japanese credits in America were frozen. War was threatened if Japanese

constitute a blot on our national history. And that quotation brings me to the third and last point which is made in the book. I have referred to the hold upon English opinion of the official version of events. I have mentioned the denigration and obstruction which met the appearance here of both a long and serious study of the evidence—Beard's—and a light and short sketch—Flynn's. In America itself what Beard and his followers had to bear was of course on a larger scale.

### **Historical blackout**

The third point made in "Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace" is that since the end of World War II the American public have been treated to a "historical black-out". The phrase is Dr. Barnes's. It is he in his introduction who sets out some of the efforts made to keep the official story from being discredited.

He says that the American Government commissioned two books that were to be officially orthodox books—"The Road to Pearl Harbor," by Herbert Feis, and "The Challenge to Isolation, 1937-1940," by W. L. Langer and S. E. Gleason. I may add something else. Lord Hankey, author of "Politics, Trials and Errors," is twice quoted. I may recall that in 1951† Lord Hankey pointed out that during the preliminary conference in London at which the "law" was drawn up for the spectacular Nuremberg trial of the German so-called "major war criminals," Robert W. Jackson who was to be the American prosecutor before the tribunal, insisted that no matter politically inconvenient to the United States should come out at the trial. The official belief that a "historical black-out" was desirable can hardly be doubted. That does not mean that it is a good thing. Readers of Peace News will very likely agree that the garbling of facts of this kind offers a poor basis for the future of international relations. Dr. Barnes's third point is as sound and as well taken as the two others.

In making so much valuable material and argument available in a single volume, he and his collaborators have performed for Western opinion a great service. "Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace" may be a book now five years old; it nevertheless continues to deserve careful study and it will continue to deserve it not only in the United States but also over here, in Western Europe.

\*Barnes, op. cit., p. 407.

†Lord Maugham, "UNO and War Crimes," with a postscript by Lord Hankey, p. 114.



## March from prison to prison

FROM Brixton Prison to-morrow (Saturday) morning a march organised by supporters of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War will start the 9-mile walk to Holloway Prison.

The object of the march is to demonstrate solidarity with the Swaffham missile protestors, many of whom will have completed their 14-day sentences by to-morrow; it is not a protest at their committal to prison.

The march, which will set out from Brixton Prison in Jebb Avenue at 11 a.m., may be joined by sympathisers at Kennington Station at 12 o'clock mid-day, at Victoria Embankment Gardens, where there will be a half-an-hour rest, at 12.45 p.m.—1.15 p.m., and at Camden Town Station at 2.30 p.m. Speakers will address the marchers at Hilton Rd., near Holloway Prison, at about 3.15 p.m.

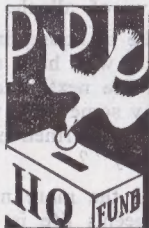
All who take part are particularly asked to observe the non-violent character of the demonstration on all occasions.

The Direct Action Committee, 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4 (STA 7062), have asked to be notified by those who would like to meet the Swaffham demonstrators on their release. At least one will be released from Brixton and Holloway to-morrow between 7.40 a.m.—8 a.m., others on Monday and Tuesday, Jan. 26 and 27.

## The Bomb and the £

IN a recent leading article The Times said that this year would be dominated by the bomb and the £.

No doubt the fear of nuclear war will continue to paralyse men's minds and dictate the policies of governments unless and until agreement can be reached on the renunciation of nuclear warfare. But as the Bishop of Carlisle said in the House of Lords, great as was the danger of nuclear war, it was rendered more dangerous by being pinpointed as the one deadly threat of our time.



## 42 LEADING CITIZENS APPEAL TO CONGRESS TO CHANGE U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

# REDUCE THE PENTAGON STRENGTHEN UN

Peace News Reporter

**THE abolition of nuclear tests, support for the demilitarisation of tension areas, the settlement of the cold war by negotiation, and the admission of China to UN were the main features of a recent appeal to the 86th Congress by 42 leading American citizens.**

The statement, which called for more economic aid and technical assistance channelled through UN to other countries, was also submitted to President Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles.

### The signatories to the appeal were:

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; Lewis Mumford; Linus Pauling; C. Wright Mills, Professor at Columbia University; Erich Fromm; the Rev. Dr. John A. Mackay, President, Princetown Theological Seminary; Charles G. Price, Head of the Department of Chemistry of the University of Pennsylvania; Hugh B. Hester, Brigadier General, ret.; Walter Millis, author and analyst of military affairs; and David Riesman, Professor at Harvard University.

### Pacifist signatories

Well known pacifist signatories included:

A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the US Fellowship of Reconciliation; Clarence Pickett, Hon. Sec. of the American Friends Service Committee; and the Rev. Robert J. McCracken.

Others included: Sidney Lens, Norman Thomas, O. Walter Wagner, Ben Shahn, Mrs. Auther Paul, Claud D. Nelson, Walter G. Muelder, Donald N. Michael, Seymour Melman, Stewart Meacham, Lenore G. Marshall, Helen Merrell Lynd, Walter Landauer, Freda Kirchwey, Howard Mumford Jones, James Imbrie, Ralph C. Abele, Emily G. Balch, Stringfellow Barr, Peter Blume, Alexander Calder, Stephen Cary, Robert A. Childers, Henry Hitt Crane, L. C. Dunn, Kermit Eby, D. F. Fleming, William Ernest Hocking and B. W. Huebsch.

In calling for this reappraisal of US foreign policy, the signatories point out that the troubles over the Middle East, Formosa and now over Berlin are examples of how the US is left at the mercy of events.

### Cold war has failed

The signatories also stress the importance of strengthening the UN "as an instrument of international security" and reducing "the role which the Pentagon, the military and the vast new armament interests have assumed in foreign affairs."



The great gathering in Trafalgar Square before the trek began—the Aldermaston March of Easter last year.

Photo: Roger Mayne.

## The H-bomb and the Christian conscience

CHRISTIAN ACTION and the Friends Peace Committee are jointly to sponsor a meeting in the Albert Hall on the evening of Monday, May 25.

# ALDERMASTON AGAIN

THERE will be another Aldermaston march at Easter this year. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is organising the march which this time will begin at Aldermaston and end with a mass rally in London.

The reason for the changed direction of the march is partly that the campaign wants to make it slightly different, and according to Mrs. Peggy Duff, the secretary of the Campaign, because "We feel the responsibility for the policies we're objecting to is in London, not in Aldermaston."

**KINGSLEY HALL, BOW, E.3**

(Powis Rd., via Bromley by Bow Underground station)



article The Times said that this year would be dominated by the bomb and the £.

No doubt the fear of nuclear war will continue to paralyse men's minds and dictate the policies of governments unless and until agreement can be reached on the renunciation of nuclear warfare. But as the Bishop of Carlisle said in the House of Lords, great as was the danger of nuclear war, it was rendered more dangerous by being pinpointed as the one deadly threat of our time.

There was developing a kind of mental fixation and emotional concentration on the H-bomb. . . The positive pursuit of peace was needed to liberate men's minds from fear, and to do that far more attention would have to be given to studying the causes of war.

The activities of the Peace Pledge Union during the year will be dominated by the intention to pursue with increasing vigour the policy of total unconditional unilateral disarmament by Britain as being the only effective way to peace. When war has finally been renounced and banished men will find a better way to settle their disputes and solve the problems which today become causes of war.

So far as the £ is concerned, the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund will be dominated by the intention to raise at least £1,250 in 1959. We are deeply grateful to all those who helped us to reach the record figure of £1,328 in 1958, and to those who have given us an encouraging start for this year.

Please don't be so dominated by the bomb that you forget the £. We need your help in the task of abolishing war.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Amount received to date: £52.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

**"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"**

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters  
DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE  
6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1



Marshall, Stewart Meacham, Lenore G. Marshall, Helen Merrell Lynd, Walter Landauer, Freda Kirchwey, Howard Mumford Jones, James Imbrie, Ralph C. Abele, Emily G. Balch, Stringfellow Barr, Peter Blume, Alexander Calder, Stephen Cary, Robert A. Childers, Henry Hitt Crane, L. C. Dunn, Kermit Eby, D. F. Fleming, William Ernest Hocking and B. W. Huebsch.

In calling for this reappraisal of US foreign policy, the signatories point out that the troubles over the Middle East, Formosa and now over Berlin are examples of how the US is left at the mercy of events.

## Cold war has failed

Meanwhile "For twelve years of cold war under the administrations of both political parties, our country has failed to extend democracy, contain Communism, or achieve a position of strength."

War, which can no longer be calculated or controlled, the signatories add, is no longer available to responsible governments, while the cold war only enlarges and multiplies the problems of peace and the causes of war.

## No Walt Whitman for Peking

WALDO FRANK, the distinguished American novelist and critic, has been prevented by the US State Department from accepting an invitation to lecture on Walt Whitman, the great poet of the free democratic faith, at Peking University. This is not a sudden aberration. When Mussolini attacked Ethiopia in the 1930s the State Department shut off travel "not to Italy, the aggressor, but to Ethiopia, its victim."

Reporting all this, I. F. Stone's Weekly (Dec. 8) records that eight lawyers "from the most blue-blooded of Wall Street's Corporation Law Firms, have recommended that passports ought not to be denied anyone—even members of the C.P.—for their political opinions."

### Cards for prisoners

IT is hard to get information about the number of Christmas Greeting Cards which went to conscientious objectors held in prison over Christmas, but we do know that one result of "Prisoners for Peace Day" and the sending of the cards was that a wall of a CO camp in Norway was



The great gathering in Trafalgar Square before the trek began—the Aldermaston March of Easter last year.

Photo: Roger Mayne.

## The H-bomb and the Christian conscience

CHRISTIAN ACTION and the Friends Peace Committee are jointly to sponsor a meeting in the Albert Hall on the evening of Monday, May 25.

The meeting is to be the starting point of a campaign to rouse the Christian conscience, inside and outside the churches, in the situation created by the manufacture of nuclear weapons, and to bring Christians to a point of decision not only about nuclear weapons but also on the whole question of what ought to be the Christian attitude to war and the Christian way of dealing with international problems.

completely covered by cards. We have also heard that the Union of War Resisters (VK) in Germany sent out over 5,000 cards this year. Greetings were also sent by Tolstoyans and war resisters in Russia and Poland.

From one small corner of England, the Southern Area of the Peace Pledge Union report that their Alton Group sent 129 cards, and the Group also gathered for a half-hour period of meditation on "Prisoners for Peace" Day. Three members met together in Wimborne and sent 36 cards. Others in Chichester sent cards.

And so, no doubt, one could report on groups large and small, not only throughout Britain but in many other countries overseas as well. Perhaps when some of the men are released we shall get a fuller report of the numbers of cards sent.

### PEACEMAKERS HERITAGE No. 10

#### What the advanced don't see

The division of men into two castes, as well as the use of violence in politics and war, conflicts with all the moral principles by which our world lives, and yet the most advanced and educated men of today do not seem to see it.—Leo Tolstoy, "The Kingdom of God Is Within You."

### KINGSLEY HALL, BOW, E.3

(Powis Rd., via Bromley by Bow Underground station)

## FOUNDATION WEEK

February 1st - 8th inclusive

TUESDAY, FEB., 3rd 7.45 p.m.

Rev. Dr. DONALD SOPER

Chair: Rev. R. SORENSEN, M.P.

THURSDAY, FEB., 5th 7.45 p.m.

KINGSLEY HALL AT HOME

Hosts: Rev. PATRICK and Mrs. FIGGIS

Compere: Mr. BERNARD EASTAUGH

Soloist: HARRY MISTER

Your presence will be a vote for  
Positive Peace and a Birthday  
Gift to us

### COMMONSENSE WAYS

TO BETTER  
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# PEACE NEWS

## The International Pacifist Weekly

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## Prison and prospects

WHILE we have been going about our business the members of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, two of the Editorial staff of this journal among them, have been in prison. Some are still there.

Why should they have gone? What have they achieved? There has been no lack of criticism and depreciation, much of it in quarters where they might decently have expected, if not approval, then at least the silence of solidarity. Denigration has not come from the Press:

*Amazed to find it could rejoice*

*Hell raised a hoarse, half-human cheer.*

The avowed opponents of pacifism have been more generous to them than some of their colleagues for whom they have gone too far, not far enough, have acted too much in the spirit of politics, or have not acted politically enough. If they are wise, they will listen to all this without disappointment.

THE REAL QUESTION IS NOT WHY THEY ARE IN JAIL, BUT WHY WE ARE OUT OF IT.

What the prisoners have done has caught the imagination of the public here, and, it may well be, abroad; and that is the first step in appealing to its reason or touching its heart. Action upon conscience is impressive because it is a change in a period dominated by political professionals who would not miss a dinner to assert a principle let alone be forcibly fed for two weeks.

★ ★ ★

CIVIL disobedience is not anti-democratic. It is the final process of appeal in a democracy—a cry of “haro” against the policies which are undemocratic, majorities or no majorities, because they are an offence to the humanity on which democratic ideals are supposed to rest.

The demonstrators showed themselves fully aware of this: they acted with rather more dignity than is commonly displayed by the House of Commons; they had nothing whatever to gain, they have not claimed or suffered any exaggerated martyrdom, but they have voluntarily accepted discomfort, inconvenience and the risk—never quite negligible—that the authorities would take fright and get really nasty.

As much as anything it is the contrast of this sincerity and determination with the electoral double-talk, the statesmanship,

## The Mikoyan visit

MR. MIKOYAN'S curtailment by three days of his American visit has naturally aroused some speculation. But it seems mere ill-nature to suggest, as has been done in some quarters, that he cut out his intended trip to Florida because he was annoyed at being admitted to the White House through the side door leading to President Eisenhower's office, and not through the front entrance reserved for state visitors.

It is far more probable that he was recalled because Moscow considered what he reported from America so important that the Kremlin wants to subject it to full study and consideration with his personal assistance before the government statements are worked out with which the twenty-first Party Congress will begin on January 27.

Once again the personality of a Moscow high-up has created a favourable impression in a western country to such an extent that papers fiercely opposed to Communism have spoken of the visitor's “personal triumph.” And though good care is taken to point out that nothing fundamental has been changed, it is clear that the Mikoyan journey has not been in vain. The chances for a summit meeting and for negotiations have been greatly improved.

A point which deserves particular attention is that Mr. Mikoyan has allowed it to be understood that the Soviet standpoint regarding Germany and Berlin is not unalterable; and that Mr. Foster Dulles said in the course of his Press conference on January 13 “free elections are not the only method of unifying Germany.”

He gave no further explanation and did not admit that this statement disclosed any change from the original USA attitude. But taking the two facts together, it becomes plain that neither Moscow nor Washington is now as rigid in its attitude as both had previously appeared to be.

The result of the Mikoyan visit does not as yet amount to a definite sign of coming thaw in the cold war. But it is something gained that the Americans have learned through personal contact with the No. 2 Kremlin Man that the Soviet's fear of a Western Germany incorporated in NATO and re-armed with atomic weapons is genuine; and all to the good that Mr. Mikoyan should have seen for himself how far Soviet propaganda is off the target when it tries to persuade the working classes of the West that they are down-trodden capitalist slaves.

## De Gaulle's amnesty

FOLLOWING quickly upon his unwelcome financial measures, which have shocked France into awareness that salvation will have to be paid for, President de Gaulle has now done what only a minority of Frenchmen were willing to do, and none could have done

## Lord Altrincham

LORD ALTRINCHAM has suggested that the Commonwealth become a common association with dynamic ideals, “in particular a determination to overthrow racial barriers and extirpate racialism in all its odious forms, and a belief in Parliamentary Government, universal suffrage, the rule of law, and devotion to peace.” To this end Lord Altrincham suggests that Mahatma Gandhi should be the patron saint of the Commonwealth and that the Queen should cease to be a permanent resident in this country but should move free among all the countries of the Commonwealth.

We heartily welcome Lord Altrincham's suggestions. At present the Commonwealth is just a vague gesture towards certain ideals. It would be a great improvement if an attempt were made to put these ideals into practice. There would, of course, be difficulties, the most obvious of which would be the position of South Africa. But it is certainly time that somebody faced up to this. By saying nothing about a country which openly and brutally flouts all the principles that the Commonwealth is supposed to stand for the Commonwealth is in danger of becoming a monument to the hypocrisy of the British nations.

We are naturally delighted that Lord Altrincham thinks that Gandhi should be the patron saint of the Commonwealth. We wonder if Lord Altrincham thinks that non-violence is one of the ideals that the Commonwealth should practice?

While he was making these suggestions Lord Altrincham also said he did not think that the criticisms he had previously made of the Queen had had much effect. We feel that this is a pity.

In the last few years the mass media have tried to sell the royal family as a representative of all the domestic virtues.

This must be as nauseating for the Queen as it is for the audiences who have to endure it. Is it too much to ask that the next time that the Queen goes for a quiet holiday somewhere we should be spared a whole host of newspapermen reporting and recording the “quiet holiday”?

All this is the more nauseating because it is clear that the Queen's life is, in fact, representative of a small minority; the Queen is obviously more at home on a race track than she is in a factory. And this is a way of life that has little relevance to this country at the moment. It would be a great improvement if the monarchy were no longer a glamorous symbol for a society of privilege and idleness. The changes that Lord Altrincham advocates would help.

IN PERSPECTIVE



...nated by political professionals who would not miss a dinner to assert a principle let alone be forcibly fed for two weeks.

**CIVIL** disobedience is not anti-democratic. It is the final process of appeal in a democracy—a cry of “haro” against the policies which are undemocratic, majorities or no majorities, because they are an offence to the humanity on which democratic ideals are supposed to rest.

The demonstrators showed themselves fully aware of this: they acted with rather more dignity than is commonly displayed by the House of Commons; they had nothing whatever to gain, they have not claimed or suffered any exaggerated martyrdom, but they have voluntarily accepted discomfort, inconvenience and the risk—never quite negligible—that the authorities would take fright and get really nasty.

As much as anything it is the contrast of this sincerity and determination with the electoral double-talk, the statesmanship, the Macmiskellism—which has got over to the public.

Super-Mutt and Super-Jeff may perambulate the country promising all action short of doing something—the men and women at Swaffham HAVE done something and their manifest honesty has made the supermen look uncommonly cheap.

The moral effect of Swaffham stems directly from the non-violent combination of good humour and determination with which the gesture was made.

Everyone who came in contact with them, including the police and even the agents provocateurs among the men on the site, was clearly impressed and non-plussed by it. Non-violence is not magic. It will not save its practitioners from being beaten up when the authorities get really frightened. But one need only contrast the effect of these demonstrations with the irritation caused to public opinion by the heckling tactics of the Empire Loyalists (a form of “direct action” not lacking in pluck) to see that a point has been made.

**THIS** alone, dissatisfied absolutists might consider, is a service to pacifism which might almost qualify the Swaffham men for associate membership of the Elect.

More important politically is the fact that every act of public resistance makes the next easier. A continent of exasperated people, unsure of themselves and tired of voting on policies which will not be kept, may not be willing to follow the lead of Harold Steele, the crew of the “Golden Rule,” André Trocmé’s devoted demonstrators who marched under much more dangerous circumstances, or the Swaffhamites, but it is brought nearer to action by each of these examples.

In the end it is not the symbolic occupation of bases, but the recalcitrance of individuals at the benches and on the jobs which will make the point and which could end not only nuclear bombs but tyranny and war in general.

This week’s conference in London may lead to further action against war preparations in Germany. The German tradition of discipline, like the British tradition of coolness, has often been expressed in military obedience. If we next see it expressed, with incalculable importance, for the future of Europe, in orderly disobedience to militarism, that may be in no small part due to the example of Major Pat Arrowsmith and her honourable company:

*Will think themselves accurst they were not there,*

*And gentlemen in England, now abed,*

*And hold their manhoods cheap when any speak*

*That marched with them, pacifist, part-pacifist, or sea green*  
*incorruptible, upon St. Crispin’s Day.*

...amount to a definite sign of coming thaw in the cold war. But it is something gained that the Americans have learned through personal contact with the No. 2 Kremlin Man that the Soviet’s fear of a Western Germany incorporated in NATO and re-armed with atomic weapons is genuine; and all to the good that Mr. Mikoyan should have seen for himself how far Soviet propaganda is off the target when it tries to persuade the working classes of the West that they are down-trodden capitalist slaves.

## De Gaulle’s amnesty

**F**OLLOWING quickly upon his unwelcome financial measures, which have shocked France into awareness that salvation will have to be paid for, President de Gaulle has now done what only a minority of Frenchmen were willing to do, and none could have done without the extended powers he secured for himself before taking on his present responsibilities.

He has commuted close on 200 death sentences in Algeria, reduced by one-tenth the sentences of all imprisoned rebels, and announced the early release of 7,000 suspects from Algerian internment camps. In addition, in France Messali Hadj, the leader of the Algerian National Movement, is to be released from three years of “restricted residence” in Belle-Ile, to move about as he may choose (but not to go to Algeria); and Ben Bella and the four other leaders of the Algerian National Liberation Front, who were captured by a shabby trick in 1956, are to be transferred from the Santé Prison in Paris to comparative freedom in a fortified stronghold.

The authoritarian general has thus shown himself more far-seeing, let it be noted in passing, than our own government has done for a long time in the case of Cyprus.

But even more surprising is that the Paris correspondent of The Times could report on January 14 that the clemency measures had been well received by most sections of opinion in France, and had not up to that time aroused the storm expected from the French settlers in Algeria.

So far, so good. But it is the next few months that will put de Gaulle to his severest test. At home he will have to make his fiscal measures effective in a country where the use of banking accounts is exceptional rather than general, so that thousands of profit-earning transactions can be carried through without leaving traces, and where considerable possessions can be hidden behind bearer bonds. And when it comes to the point of eventual negotiations the French settlers in Algeria will prove as stubborn as the very worst Colonel Blimp, while the Free Algerian Government in Cairo will move heaven, earth and hell to prevent any settlement other than complete independence.

The difficulties facing President de Gaulle are indeed formidable. But he has begun well. Let us hope for his further success. There is only one reservation: he will never rest until he has made France into another nuclear power.

...representative of all the domestic virtues. This must be as nauseating for the Queen as it is for the audiences who have to endure it. Is it too much to ask that the next time that the Queen goes for a quiet holiday somewhere we should be spared a whole host of newspapermen reporting and recording the “quiet holiday”?

All this is the more nauseating because it is clear that the Queen’s life is, in fact, representative of a small minority; the Queen is obviously more at home on a race track than she is in a factory. And this is a way of life that has little relevance to this country at the moment. It would be a great improvement if the monarchy were no longer a glamorous symbol for a society of privilege and idleness. The changes that Lord Altrincham advocates would help.

## Towards 1984

**O**N BBC Television last Saturday there was a discussion of Western Defence with particular reference to Germany between Mr. Aneurin Bevan, General Alfred Gruenther and Herr Strauss, the West German Defence Minister.

The attitudes of General Gruenther and Herr Strauss were particularly disturbing. They argued the conventional case for Western armed preparedness and for the equipping of German forces with tactical atomic weapons. It was not the case that they argued which was disturbing but the way they argued it. Herr Strauss was particularly inflexible. If he were living in the thirties he would surely have been pointed to as evidence of the brutal inflexibility of the Nazis. Under our present set-up he is, of course, one of the pillars of the Free World defence system. General Gruenther was less dogmatic and inflexible but very complacent.

Compared to these Mr. Bevan appeared a responsible statesman. He argued for not supplying the Germans with tactical atomic weapons and for paying more attention to the political and economic threat of Communism. The difficulty about his position was that he never showed how Britain would be in a position to go against the wishes of the United States. Perhaps he thought we could threaten the US with our bomb.

Much was said on the programme about meeting the threat of Communism. Nothing was said about the kind of threat that the democracies might present to the Communist countries. It was assumed that the situation to-day was a permanent one.

It is quite clear that this “permanent situation” is changing rapidly. It is becoming increasingly harder to see differences between the blocs. Do you prefer an authoritarian regime in France to one in Albania? Or does it make a difference if your killings and torture are done in Algeria or Cyprus as opposed to Hungary or East Germany?

The world begins more and more to look like 1984. Politicians might think about this if they were not obsessed with preparations to blow us all to pieces.



**Frank Allaun MP, Using  
films, Swaffham**

### Votes and the Bomb

FRANK ALLAUN forgets the record of 1945-51, when the Labour Government proved as bloodthirsty as any Tory Government. In those years Labour set the pattern which the Tories have followed. Transport House is now satisfied that all debate is ended: bigger and better bombs is now the policy of the united Labour Party, and it is futile to expect that leopards will change their spots.

Mr. Allaun's hopes rest upon the 70 M.P.s who believe in nuclear disarmament. Belief, however, is not enough. He does not tell us how those M.P.s are going to change the present policy. They have signed an agreement to accept official Labour policy, and are thereby pledged to support the maintenance of nuclear weapons.

If, when Labour comes to power, they vote against a Budget providing finance for nuclear weapons, they will be expelled and the Government will probably be defeated and replaced by a Tory Government. If, however, they follow established practice and drop their consciences into the dustbin and vote for such a Budget, they will be guilty of political prostitution.

I rejoice, however, to note that Mr. Allaun advocates a campaign to get M.P.s to vote against provision for nuclear weapons when the forces estimates are presented next month. Will the seventy M.P.s vote against those estimates (and against the forthcoming Budget) in defiance of the instructions of their leaders? This will be the test of their integrity. If they bow the head and bend the knee, then we might as well vote Tory.

A final word to Frank Allaun and to the Labour Party: What is morally wrong cannot be politically right.—F. O'HANLON, St. Michael's, Hayling Rise, Worthing.

### More than one issue

I LIKE Frank Allaun, thought your editorial on pacifist tactics in the next election was not calculated to help us make the maximum impact politically in the campaign for a new approach to foreign affairs.

Your criticism of Labour's leadership is justified, but is this the only consideration? All your Parliamentary supporters are

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Atomic Energy," a film about Gandhi, "African Conflict," the Swaffham film and that masterpiece, "A Time Out of War."

Local branches of many church and secular organisations have been invited to send delegates and the response has been very encouraging. Some delegates are coming from as far afield as the Midlands and West Country. However, I can still supply tickets for delegates or visitors, price 4s. 6d., and s.a.e. please. The ticket includes the cost of tea.—REX PHILLIPS, 32, Elm Grove, Orpington, Kent.

### Maximum effort

MAY I express my admiration for all those who have taken part in the campaign at Swaffham, and now face imprisonment for their beliefs.

There are many active peace workers who would disagree with the method adopted by the demonstrators at Swaffham, but no one would question their belief that the work for peace needs a new urgency.

I would appeal particularly to my friends in the Labour Party, trade unions and Co-ops. to make the maximum effort in 1959 for the cause of Peace, whatever method they adopt to achieve this end. The sacrifices of the demonstrators at Swaffham demands it.—DENNIS BRIAN, Gen. Sec. Labour Peace Fellowship, 24 Breakspears Rd., London, S.E.4.

### Non-violent coercion

I FAIL to understand Kathleen Lonsdale's analogy about the police arresting burglars, which, as she says, can be called a method of coercion, since the point at issue is not whether attempting to stop workmen building a rocket base is coercion for clearly it is, but whether it is non-violent.

The burglar and the prostitute know they are breaking the law; the workman on the rocket site is not breaking the law, and if he thinks at all, considers his work legitimate. Forcibly preventing him from doing it will no more persuade him he is wrong than the burglar is persuaded to reform by the policeman who arrests him; in fact, people are very seldom persuaded by such means.

If trying to stop him is a means of protest, which Kathleen Lonsdale seems to

imply in the last words of her letter, then the burglar-policeman analogy immediately falls down. Most of the work of pacifist organisations has been work of persuasion as well as protest, but there can be no assessment as regards the results.

If the word "feeble" is to be used about any protest that is not effective then failure to stop work on rocket sites will also have to be called "feeble." I do not think propaganda methods of persuasion should be dismissed as feeble; Kathleen Lonsdale's own contribution is by no means negligible.

Persuasion is a method that has been used by all great religious leaders and reformers. Jesus was not crucified because he placed his body between Herod and his victims, but because he preached a revolutionary gospel.

I yield to none in my admiration for the members of the Direct Action Committee for their willingness to suffer in taking an action they believe to be right. I am uncertain as to the effectiveness; I am afraid it may do more harm than good to the pacifist cause; I am certain that to attack the weapon instead of its cause is to put the cart before the horse and thereby prevent progress. If war comes it will not be because of nuclear weapons but in spite of them, simply because of reliance upon the method of war.—SYBIL MORRISON, 6, Apollo Place, London, S.W.10.

### CND and Geneva

THE Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament seems to have become obsessed with the idea of stopping nuclear tests by agreement.

The Campaign policy does not mention stopping tests by agreement. We want to see an end to testing H-bombs. We do not want endless negotiations for agreement, accompanied by many conditions, with the possible sanction that if one power breaks the agreement then the other nuclear powers would consider themselves free to resume testing.

Have Twickenham CND forgotten the long negotiations on disarmament which were carried on simultaneously with nuclear tests, and that Britain and America have withdrawn their offer to suspend tests from October 31, because Russia tested at the

**Nuclear tests, Non-violent  
coercion, Notting Hill**

beginning of the Geneva conference. France will soon be testing irrespective of agreements, and many countries will follow our example in testing, in order to be able "to negotiate" and "defend themselves" in this modern age.

The pacifists and the campaigners should be leading public opinion to demand of each nuclear power that they should stop testing unconditionally. World opinion should condemn the selfish actions of the three powers, who in their own supposed defence, submit world population to the harmful effects of radioactive fall-out. By putting all our faith in the Geneva Conference we concede that the three powers have a right to test nuclear weapons, and to cease them only on agreement.—D. H. BARASI, 45 Twyford Avenue, East Finchley, N.2.

### Petition from Notting Hill

I HAVE been much moved by Fenner Brockway's article in your issue of December 19 describing the petition to the Home Secretary by the coloured people of Notting Hill for a remission of the sentences of four years' imprisonment passed on the nine young men who initiated the racial disturbances. On this American continent where segregation versus integration is constantly discussed, our uncharacteristic riots were all too well known to those who oppose integration, and I shall take every opportunity that I can command to make the Notting Hill petition known.

It seems to me far more important that this petition should have been spontaneously presented than that it should have been granted; it would perhaps have been difficult for the Home Secretary to criticise even by implication the judge who accompanied his sentences with a memorable definition of British democracy.

What does appear of major importance is that the young prisoners themselves should know about the petition, and it seems to me that the pacifist movement has an obligation to see that they do learn of it—perhaps through one of the Quaker visitors to H.M. prisons. If the generosity of the coloured people brought insight and regeneration to even one of the offenders, the object of the petitioners would surely have been fulfilled.—VERA BRITAIN, Montreal.

**Will Hyde Park follow Union Square?**



well vote Tory.

A final word to Frank Allaun and to the Labour Party: What is morally wrong cannot be politically right.—**F. O'HANLON, St. Michael's, Hayling Rise, Worthing.**

### More than one issue

I LIKE Frank Allaun, thought your editorial on pacifist tactics in the next election was not calculated to help us make the maximum impact politically in the campaign for a new approach to foreign affairs.

Your criticism of Labour's leadership is justified, but is this the only consideration? All your Parliamentary supporters are Labour MPs, including some regular writers in Peace News.

In taking a completely hostile attitude to the Labour Party you only alienate many of your best supporters. Nothing is achieved because you cannot point to any alternative pacifist or anti-H-bomb party that is capable of exerting any influence. Therefore, as Frank Allaun points out, we can only back candidates of the party that is going furthest along the road we wish to go. The issue is as simple as that.

Your article takes only one issue, unilateral action on the H-bomb, in attempting to prove that Tory and Labour policies are the same. Why do you not mention colonial policy, aid to poorer countries, the colour bar, disengagement in Europe, admission of China to UN, and unilateral action on H-bomb tests. And since when have pacifists only been concerned with campaigns against one weapon of war? Surely it is our attitude towards a wide range of problems—unilateral and domestic—that govern our political affiliations.—

**RON HUZARD, 37 Hollingworth Road, Petts Wood, Kent.**

### Film session

IN the belief that pacifist bodies and others working for peace could make better use of films in putting over their ideas the London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting Peace Committee have arranged a film viewing session for delegates and visitors.

This will take place on Saturday, January 31, from 2.30 p.m. to about 8.30 p.m. in the Large Hall at Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

The programme will include films ranging from nuclear warfare to war on want, non-violence, etc., including the Venice Gold Medal film, "Uranium Fission—

workmen building a rocket base is coercion for clearly it is, but whether it is non-violent.

The burglar and the prostitute know they are breaking the law; the workman on the rocket site is not breaking the law, and if he thinks at all, considers his work legitimate. Forcibly preventing him from doing it will no more persuade him he is wrong than the burglar is persuaded to reform by the policeman who arrests him; in fact, people are very seldom persuaded by such means.

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## Will Hyde Park follow Union Square?

WHILE Albert Bigelow, captain of the "Golden Rule," was speaking at the Pacifist Forum in Hyde Park on November 30, he was interrupted on one occasion by a man in the audience who snarled: "What kind of an American are you?"

The accent was very obviously American. The hateful tone of voice was so out-of-keeping with Hyde Park's good sportsmanship that it seemed to strike an indignant note with others in the audience, as it did with myself. This particular individual—unlike others who had taken issue with us—was opposing not what we said, but our very right to say it. According to Hyde Park's rules-of-the-game, he was in effect acting like a poor sport.

### Americans and free speech

His attitude, I regret to say, is typical of many Americans' failure to understand the right of free speech, particularly since the advent of McCarthyism. I can attest to this in view of my many years of pacifist street-speaking in New York. I have found that the American who stands up for Voltaire's famous precept of free speech, is rare. Far more numerous among American street meeting audiences are persons who think that "unpatriotic" speakers—and pacifists are pigeon-holed invariably in this category—should be shut-up, if not jailed (only a few hecklers recommend the firing squad).

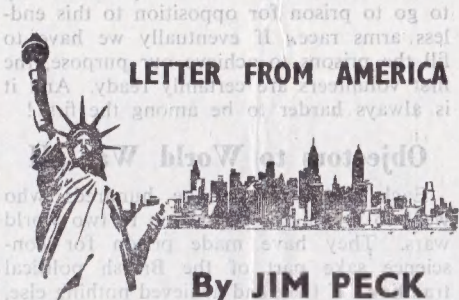
Nevertheless, until World War II, New York had, in Union Square, its counterpart in Hyde Park. While the right of free speech was not exercised as unlimitedly there as in Hyde Park and the topics covered were less varied, it was still a forum of free speech.

However, as Isidore Wisotsky, veteran of Union Square, expressed it in a recent New

York Times feature story: "World War II spelled the end of The Square as a free-for-all political forum. The array of parking meters (which have been installed on the entire north end of Union Square) look like so many headstones marking the place which once, like Hyde Park, had been a world symbol of free speech.

"Now Hyde Park is still alive with many voices, but the thunderers have gone from Union Square. And they are missed at a time when freedom of speech—even though the speech is more emotional than intellectual—should be encouraged at all levels."

As an ex-habitue of Union Square dating not as far back as Mr. Wisotsky (I first went there in 1933, he in 1912), I second his plea for "re-establishing a forum for the politically homeless" in America's biggest city.



By JIM PECK

I wrote a letter to The New York Times to this effect which was printed, subsequently. In the letter I cited one omission in Mr. Wisotsky's article which really highlights how Union Square has deteriorated.

"Mr. Wisotsky failed to mention how free speech is 'trampled upon' each May Day in recent years when the 14th Street Merchants Association takes over The Square for a so-called patriotic rally," my letter said. "While this annual event is

directed ostensibly against the Communists who headed the last of the big May Day demonstrations in The Square, it is in reality a desecration of the free speech principle for which The Square used to stand."

And while, on May Day these years, the 14th Street business men wave the flag in Union Square, the military rattle the sabre along Fifth Avenue with what is known as the Loyalty Day Parade. Only a few pitifully attended indoor meetings by Socialists, IWW's and other small groups mark what was once labour's big holiday.

Recent May Days are indicative of the climate of opinion developed in America in the post-World-War II years and particularly since the advent of McCarthyism. In such a situation, is it possible to re-establish a forum for "the politically homeless" in New York? Is there sufficient interest in such a project or is the prevailing apathy and conformism too strong?

### New York ignores plea

These questions are difficult to answer. In Boston's Common there is still some outdoor speaking, both political and religious. In Los Angeles' Pershing Square, religious speakers still hold forth (Columbus Circle, which used to be New York's forum for religious sects, has been reconstructed into an elaborate traffic circle). But in New York, Mr. Wisotsky's plea has evoked little response.

I have scant optimism about a revival of the old Union Square. May the same fate not befall Hyde Park! On the occasion when I spoke there along with the other crew members of "Golden Rule" and "Phoenix," I got my first view of that world-famous forum of free speech. Hyde Park lived up to my expectations.



# THOUGHTS FROM PRISON

By Christopher Farley



**PRISON** is essentially a place for reflection—at least, for the political prisoner. Most of us in jail following the non-violent obstruction at the rocket base near Swaffham must have been doing some hard thinking in the last few days. Was it all worth it?

What have we achieved? And where do we go from here?

I suppose that before the demonstration we had all had our doubts. For most of us it was an entirely new kind of protest, and its illegal and coercive aspects presented formidable problems. There was also the danger that various unforeseen tactical factors could alter the whole project—for example, the police attempt to stop the large London group before dawn with the threat of a conspiracy charge.

## Struggle in the mind

For some the problems had proved too great; they had wisely chosen to stand down or to join the ranks of the non-trespassing supporters. But as the advance group marched up the slope to the site of these terrible weapons I believe we four dozen-odd had all overcome our doubts.

For example, I remember very vividly the scene in the evening at Swaffham police station after we had been arrested. About 40 of us were queuing up to be “booked in” and exchanging in small groups our thoughts on the day’s work. Suddenly Will Warren, the Oxford Quaker, silenced our corner by the utter simplicity of his words:

“I thought and prayed about this for a long time and eventually I knew that this was a proper concern and it was right for me to do this. In fact, I couldn’t do anything else.”

The words got across to us because each in his own way had had a similar struggle. Since leaving Norwich jail I had been tremendously encouraged by the numbers of people who had told me or written to say how disappointed they were not to have obstructed also—that they ought to

*The following are letters sent from prison by two of the Swaffham missile base demonstrators. John Otter wrote while in Norwich Prison during Christmas to J. Allen Skinner about his article on non-violent obstruction (PN, December 19); Christopher Farley’s letter was written in Brixton Prison last week. The letters are published as part of the series discussing the demonstrations at Swaffham in December.*



Will Warren, Oxford Quaker and member of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, being removed from the North Pickenham missile base—Swaffham, Dec. 6.

By John Otter

**IT** was largely your influence that made me reopen the question of complete pacifism as opposed to my previous anti-militarism; and so it is with great forebodings that I find myself forced to disagree with you on such an issue as this.

Your article it would seem to me depends on two assumptions (both of which I know you to respect normally) that our democracy is sufficiently vital for the democratic road to disarmament to be feasible for men with but little time; and that the Parliamentary road to peace is not in itself a coercive road. If I have misread your article I apologise, but I can understand it in no other way.

No one knows better than you the difficulties of running a paper for a minority group; the difficulty that such groups have even getting mentioned on the wireless; the absolute impossibility of say the Welsh Nationalists ever having such time at a General Election; the difficulty of raising the money for the deposit to permit Common Wealth candidates to have their name on a ballot paper without anything more.

## Democracy and H-bombs

James Mill wrote at the height of the Benthamite period, democracy is only possible where all can afford to publish newspapers so that the electorate can be supplied with all the facts and all possible views on them.

The Utilitarians, of course, believed that the advance of science would permit this. They could not have dreamt of our nightmarish centralisation of the Press.

The Government tries to prevent us even knowing about North Pickenham and Mepal—not merely us, but Parliament as well. Isn’t Parliament supposed to be supreme in this democratic country of ours?

When has there been a general election on any form of nuclear weapon? Who knew that Attlee decided to make hydrogen bombs? (Even Shinwell, his Minister of Defence, pleads ignorance, and backed the



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**Will Warren, Oxford Quaker and member of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, being removed from the North Pickenham missile base—Swaffham, Dec. 6.**

have been there and that they were ready to go to prison for opposition to this endless arms race. If eventually we have to fill the prisons to achieve our purpose, the first volunteers are certainly ready. And it is always harder to be among the first!

### Objectors to World War III

Each day I salute the hundreds who went to prison for opposition to two world wars. They have made prison for conscience sake part of the British political tradition. If they had achieved nothing else, these conscientious objectors of an older generation would not have been jailed in vain. They have certainly made it much easier for us this year.

If we were satisfied before this action, that it was justified, how much more so are we now! The police thoroughly grasped the non-violent nature of the obstruction. Even the Press were noticeably more intelligent, and devoted much space to their reports and comments.

The whole country now knows that there are principled objectors to World War III who are prepared to make considerable sacrifices. This is an inspiration which the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the traditional pacifist movement have largely failed to make—mainly, I believe, because they have found no way of capturing people's imagination.

In the last analysis it is feeling and not reason that is the basis for a decision. There is now, I am convinced, an imperative need for a radical wing of the CND. That mantle has fallen upon the Direct Action Committee.

**Orthodox campaigners do important work, but they will hardly resolve THIS problem, even forgetting the time factor. It is the radicals who will constantly bring the arms race to everyone's breakfast table.**

As Ted Redhead, MP, put it at a public meeting which he addressed recently: "Half a century after the Suffragette leaders, it is the militant Mrs. Pankhurst who alone has a statue in London." She captured people's imagination.

Further campaigning against missile bases is already continuing. I cannot suggest anything immediate whilst out of touch with offices and committees, but perhaps I can add a longer term thought. This is an international campaign because it is an international arms race. Much progress has been made in the US in the last two years, as in Britain. In Russia we know that there is considerable opposition to these policies and widespread unrest. There are thousands of political prisoners and many of them are pacifists, Tolstoyans, anarchists and other opponents of mass extermination.

### Take the message to Russia

We know also that Academician Peter Kapitsa was kept under house arrest by Stalin for seven years for refusing to work on super-bombs.

**Further efforts must surely be made to take this sort of message to Russia. The people must break down the barriers which the governments have created. And it is only people who have protested at home against these hideous policies who have earned the moral right to protest abroad.**

How can anyone consider seriously one government's demand that another should disarm when pursuing identical nuclear policies? The attempt last year to visit Russia with leaflets by the US team led by Lawrence Scott and Bayard Rustin was well conceived. Mr. Khrushchov has now made the fantastic claim to Mr. Noel-Baker, MP, that he is interested in the Christian ideal of non-violence. Such an opportunity to apply for visas should not be missed!

views on the them.

The Utilitarians, of course, believed that the advance of science would permit this. They could not have dreamt of our nightmarish centralisation of the Press.

The Government tries to prevent us even knowing about North Pickenham and Mepal—not merely us, but Parliament as well. Isn't Parliament supposed to be supreme in this democratic country of ours?

When has there been a general election on any form of nuclear weapon? Who knew that Attlee decided to make hydrogen bombs? (Even Shinwell, his Minister of Defence, pleads ignorance, and backed the plea by making a fool of himself in the House over it.) For whom can one vote to ban the bomb, Common Wealth, the Socialist Party of Great Britain, Fellowship Party, the Independent Labour Party, the Welsh Nationalists, Dick Acland, a couple of others perhaps outside the Labour Party, and one or two inside it who will actually vote against it (a total at the outside of 80 candidates)?

### Politics and coercion

How many politicians have you seen elected by small parties sell out and go into the Labour Party? How many Labour leftists change their shade of pink once elected? Why should people trust politicians? How much of Common Wealth's policy is designed to circumvent it? Have we time to be duped again?

Where does Parliament get its power? What Parliamentary law did not depend on either violence or economic coercion to enforce it? And lacking these, was it enforced?

How often do power cliques flout Parliament? How often is Government by decree not legislation? How often, in fact, is the Commons consulted on major issues?

Finally you say that a minority may not even non-violently coerce a majority. Do you really mean this when the survival of humanity is involved? And you know as well as I that the majority floats with the current. Politics is always a battle between minorities.

### FPU RELIGION COMMISSION

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## DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m.
2. Include Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

### Friday, January 23

**BRADFORD:** 7.45 p.m. Mechanics Institute. Brains Trust. John Braine, Dr. John Rex. CND.

### Saturday, January 24

**ALTON:** 6.30 p.m.: "Hillcrest." Windmill Hill. Discussion on Non-violence. Young Peace Seekers.  
**LONDON, S.W.2:** 11 a.m.: Jebb Ave. March from Brixton to Holloway in support of those in prison. Direct Action Committee.

### Sunday, January 25

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3.30 p.m.: 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse, Rev. C. C. Stimson, "Brotherhood of the Way."

### Monday, January 26

**ROMFORD:** 7.45 p.m. 33 Eastwood Rd. (6 mins. from Goodmayes Stn.). Important meeting of new PPU Group. Myrtle Solomon.

### Monday to Thursday, January 26 to 29

**OXFORD:** 10 a.m.—9 p.m. Assembly Room. Town Hall. "No Place to Hide" Exhibition. CND.

### Wednesday, January 28

**LONDON, N.W.1:** 6.30 p.m. Friends House, Euston Rd. "Peace Forum." Questions and discussion with Panel from Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

### Thursday, January 29

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Bush Rd. Sam Walsh, "My Visit to Cyprus." PPU.

**LONDON, E.C.3:** 1.15 p.m. Church of St. Olave, Hart St. Christian Responsibility and International Affairs in the light of the Lambeth Report. The Rev. John Vaughan, "The Church's Task." In co-operation with the National Peace Council.

**LONDON, N.15:** 7.45 p.m. Municipal Hall, The Green, Tottenham. "Children of Hiroshima" film, followed by questions answered by panel of local people. Tottenham Free Church Council.

**LONDON, W.6:** 8 p.m.: Hammersmith Town Hall. "Towards Another Aldermaston—Was Swaffham Right?" Pat Arrowsmith—just released from Holloway. Ritchie Calder, Prof. J. Rotblat, Chair: J. R. Sandy. CND.

### Friday, January 30

**LONDON, S.W.18:** 7.30 p.m.: 13 Elsenham St., Southfields. "The Vedantic Outlook by Swami Avyaktananda, "Men and Animals." Vedanta Movement.

### Saturday, January 31

**LONDON, N.W.1:** 2.30-8.30 p.m. Friends Hse., Euston Rd. Film Viewing Session of peace films relating to nuclear warfare, race relations, war on want, refugees, non-violence, etc. Tickets 4s, 6d. (incl. tea) and s.a.e. please from Rex Phillips, 32 Elm Grove, Orpington, Kent. SoF.

### Wednesday, February 4

**EPSOM:** 7.45 p.m.: Myers Hall, Ashley Rd. Short AGM, Social, music and other entertainment, bring-and-buy stall. Epsom & District Peace Fellowship.

### Thursday, February 5

**NEWBURY:** 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. AGM. Local CND Group. Films Swaffham Demonstration.

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## Every week!

### SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** 3 p.m. Clapham Common. Open air mtg. The Brotherhood of the Way.

**LONDON:** 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum. PYAG.

# Africa's future is in Britain's hands

By **FENNER BROCKWAY MP**

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



I WANT for one week to disregard actual events in the colonies. I want to discuss the effect of the coming general election in Britain on the progress of colonial freedom. I want especially to consider a significant article in the New Statesman.

Paul Johnson is typical of many socialist intellectuals of the younger generation. He is well known: he televises as well as writes. He is impatient of compromise whenever he thinks principle is involved.

When, at the Athens anti-colonial conference, the representatives of the Algerian FLN refused to sit at a gathering with a representative of the more moderate Algerian MNA, he walked out with the excluded delegate. It is perhaps significant that the other British delegate who walked out, Mervyn Jones, the Tribune writer, is also an eager young spirit of the Left. They both felt that the repression of a minority view should not be tolerated. With them I protested but, perhaps because I belong to an older generation, I felt that the wider purposes of the conference were more important than withdrawal on this principle. I stayed on.

## Colonial policy

It is Paul Johnson who has written the New Statesman article. He voices the doubts which many young people feel about the part they should play in the coming general election in Britain. They will vote Labour: but is it worth while being active in the campaign?

He answers, "No" in relation to both domestic and foreign affairs. He doesn't think the difference between a Tory Government and a Labour Government would justify effort. But he comes down in favour of active participation on the Labour side because of colonial policy.

I don't agree with Paul Johnson in his estimate of domestic and foreign policies. The domestic policy of a Labour Government would not be sufficiently socialist for many of us but there is no doubt that in

such large numbers to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

But to return to Paul Johnson. When he says that colonial policy should be decisive he is not thinking of Cyprus and Malta, immediately important though they are. He regards them as "artificial problems, created by imperialist nostalgia" and by implication assumes that the Labour policy would be more enlightened. He is thinking of East and Central Africa.

## Progress or explosion

I am sure that he is right. What a British Government does in Kenya, Nyasaland and the Rhodesias (and, less critical, in Uganda, Tanganyika, Somaliland and Zanzibar)—Paul Johnson might have added the South African Protectorates—will determine whether Africa, from Nairobi to Cape Town, explodes in racial conflict or moves forward to democratic independence with growing racial co-operation.

Labour's theoretical policy on this issue is good, as Paul Johnson recognises. On some occasions, as he indicates, the attitude of the Front Bench has not been reassuring, but repeatedly the Party has voted against the Government and in the Parliamentary Party there is now a strength of opinion which can be decisive if it receives the backing of the rank and file and of public opinion.

A Labour Colonial Secretary will require courage to carry out the declared policy of the Party. European opinion in East and Central Africa, particularly in the Rhodesias, is dead against even the minimum concessions, which would secure African co-operation. They would be supported by all we term "the Establishment" in Britain, the Tory Party, the aristocracy (still influential in the "highest" circles), the old guard in the Colonial Service, the financial interests, and the reactionary and often popular press (in powerful millionaire hands).

## Reaction v education

PEACE NEWS—January 23, 1959—7

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Avyakatananda, "The Men and Animals." Vedantist Movement.

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**LONDON:** 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum, PYAG.

**BRADFORD:** 8.15 p.m. Broadway Car Park. Open air meeting. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

**SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS**  
**LONDON:** Weekend Workcamps. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

**TUESDAYS**  
**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

**WEDNESDAYS**  
**LONDON, N.4:** 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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It is Paul Johnson who has written the New Statesman article. He voices the doubts which many young people feel about the part they should play in the coming general election in Britain. They will vote Labour: but is it worth while being active in the campaign?

He answers, "No" in relation to both domestic and foreign affairs. He doesn't think the difference between a Tory Government and a Labour Government would justify effort. But he comes down in favour of active participation on the Labour side because of colonial policy.

I don't agree with Paul Johnson in his estimate of domestic and foreign policies. The domestic policy of a Labour Government would not be sufficiently socialist for many of us but there is no doubt that in its programme for the aged, the workless, the homeless, the equalisation of education, public ownership (limited though this is), and for economic expansion it is vastly better than that of the Tories. In foreign affairs I believe Labour would make a great change. Nye Bevan, who would be Foreign Secretary, believes passionately in removing the three danger areas of the world—Central Europe, the Middle East and the Far East—from the conflict of the Cold War by neutralisation, and he would bring China into the United Nations. Labour could give world leadership and he would find a great part of the world ready to respond. Even in America opinion is changing.

## Nuclear disarmament

Paul Johnson does not discuss one issue which will be the deciding factor for many young people and, indeed, for many older people: nuclear disarmament.

Large numbers of them will not work for candidates who favour the British retention of the H-bomb. I have been surprised in my own constituency by ministers of religion, never previously associated with radical movements, who urge that no vote should be given to a candidate who favours the making of the bomb.

Even on this issue I think Labour is better than Tory. It stands for Britain stopping tests and nuclear bases until international negotiation takes place. Its foreign policy would make the entire banning of nuclear weapons and progressive disarmament more likely. Many of us go much further. We oppose British H-Bombs and nuclear bases under any circumstances.

I understand the attitude of those who cannot conscientiously vote for an "H-Bomb" candidate. It is one of the signs of the time that the younger generation, often indifferent to party politics, have rallied in

opinion which can be decisive if it receives the backing of the rank and file and of public opinion.

A Labour Colonial Secretary will require courage to carry out the declared policy of the Party. European opinion in East and Central Africa, particularly in the Rhodesias, is dead against even the minimum concessions which would secure African co-operation. They would be supported by all we term "the Establishment" in Britain, the Tory Party, the aristocracy (still influential in the "highest" circles), the old guard in the Colonial Service, the financial interests, and the reactionary and often popular press (in powerful millionaire hands).

## Reaction v education

A supreme effort would be made by them to stir emotional sympathy with our "kith and kin" in Africa and danger against a Government which stood for the democratic rights of Africans against their wishes. This may easily become the issue on which Reaction and Progress will clash in Britain.

**Reaction will win, unless public opinion can be educated to support justice for the African people.**

It is for this reason that the Movement for Colonial Freedom has decided to conduct a campaign between now and the general election in support of Labour's colonial policy. We are not completely satisfied with the policy. The Movement has members who are not members of the Labour Party. But we feel that this issue is so decisive for the colonial peoples, for all of Africa, that we should fail them at a decisive moment in history if we did not endeavour to arouse British public opinion to the issues at stake.

What Britain does in East and Central Africa in the next few years will determine the whole future of race relations on that continent. Our duty is to make the British electorate aware of this before the election comes.

(Copyright in India and Africa reserved to author.)

## But the kids have eyes

"WE TRY to make them act the way we don't," said one high school principal. "We try to teach them to be generous, to believe in the sacredness of human life, to respect the rights of others. But the kids have eyes. They look around. They see that ultimately individuals and nations use force to solve their problems. We tell them about the old-fashioned virtues. But we do not practise them in private life, community life or in foreign relations."—From a report on *Juvenile Delinquency* by Harrison Salisbury, in *The New York Times*.

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## Direct action ● FROM PAGE ONE

arms industries. British union leaders please note

A further decision which was taken at the meeting with the German delegates on the question of direct action was that an attempt should be made to organise a German Ruhr March at Easter to correspond to the timing of the Aldermaston March.

## VOTES AND THE BOMB

■ **FROM PAGE ONE**  
agreed are the manufacture and stock-piling of A-bombs; the establishment of US bases in Britain; the British commitment to NATO and the other associated military treaties; and the manufacture and stock-piling of H-bombs. Because of this quiet bi-partisan agreement there has been an effective disfranchisement of the electors on all these issues of major importance; and unless the Labour Party is willing to campaign for the demolition of the rocket bases the electors will equally have been disfranchised on this point.

It is, of course, possible that there would be a majority of the electorate for all these things upon which the two Party leaderships have agreed. That we do not know. What we do know is that except in an insignificant number of cases those who have disagreed have been unable to express their disagreement by voting.

### **Electorate disfranchised**

Unless there is a major change in the way the Parties present their programmes the electorate will again be disfranchised on these matters of major importance. The only way in which those who are in disagreement can put an end to their disfranchisement on these issues—the only way, that is, in which they can use their vote effectively—is by withholding it. This is

# Bishop urges end to nuclear deadlock

By CONSTANCE WILLIS

*This is a report of last Friday's Press conference and public meeting of the European Congress for Nuclear Disarmament. Reports of the events on the following day will appear in next week's Peace News. The report opens with the Press Conference.*

**"WE in Britain should be encouraged by the presence of our European friends to carry on with our Campaign and bring it to a successful conclusion,"** remarked Canon Collins, chairing a very well attended Press conference last Friday, held in the Chapter House of St. Paul's Cathedral.

There were about 250 delegates to the Congress, about 150 of whom were from abroad; none were from "Iron Curtain" countries.

Questioned as to whether the Campaign was against all kinds of armaments, Earl

Russell replied that the H-bomb was special because of the unpredictability of the results of its use, the universality of the destruction involved, the uncertainty as to whom it would destroy, and the fact that it would kill the generation yet unborn and have serious effects for generations ahead. Asked: "Does not that expose the Campaign to the objection that they are happy about other kinds of armaments?" Earl Russell said: "I was against the First World War, but it was not as destructive as a nuclear war would be. There is a case for campaigning especially for the abolition of nuclear weapons."

### **The public demonstration**

At the public demonstration (at St. Pancras Town Hall) which followed Canon Collins said: "We are linking up now with similar movements in Europe, and we hope as a result of this Congress that great things will develop for the whole continent and, later, for the whole world.

"While there has been some disappointment in regard to the speed of our progress, we have a lot to be extremely proud of and thankful for. Despite the fact that the Labour Party still persists in its obscurantism, it is moving along the road; the Liberal Party—small as it is—is with us; and some of the Conservative Party are at least showing signs of wondering whether, after all, the bomb is a deterrent at all. Public opinion has been stirred, and we must see to it that it [the bomb] becomes a much more vital issue in the next Election than either of the main parties seem to think it is going to be."

The mention of a message from the Swaffham demonstrators in Brixton Prison called forth enthusiastic and prolonged applause. "I am all with you," Canon Collins continued, "but still feel we must

man people—the largest delegation to this Congress is from Germany. There is a very large Peace Party—but they are losing the fight, and need your help to win it, in your own interests.

"Accept the title of cowards as a title of honour," challenged Guenther Anders, writer, of Vienna. "We are scaremongers! We live in an age in insufficient anxiety; no anxiety can match the danger."

The last speaker, the Bishop of Llandaff, commented that theologians did what they could to control war and tried to do this by saying that war was the lesser of two evils, laying down that (1) you must not wage war unless there is a strong moral certainty that more good than evil will result, and (2) that there should be no direct attack upon civilians. During the last war people became more and more doubtful as to whether this was ever possible at all. Nuclear war could never be the lesser of two evils; to use such weapons would be totally evil.

"In my view," said the Bishop, "the quantitative differences are so great that they are qualitatively different as well, and make complete nonsense of any theory of a 'just war' as possible today at all. I believe this fall-out has introduced into warfare something entirely new," he said, adding that the manufacture of nuclear weapons was a totally wrong and immoral use of a potentially wonderful power. "We have a deadlock. More and more countries will want these weapons . . .

### **'If we use the bomb...'**

"The vicious circle must be broken and some country must say that it will not allow these weapons to be experimented with on its soil, but will be ready to negotiate with any country willing to renounce the bomb. Why should not that country be ours? We talk of the wickedness of totalitarian powers and the danger of their using the bomb. We readily forget that we were the first to sanction its use. Why should we not be the first to take the risk of renouncing it?

"One final point: It is said that if Britain were to give up nuclear weapons we should lay ourselves open to occupation by Communist powers. Even if we passed



It is, of course, possible that there would be a majority of the electorate for all these things upon which the two Party leaderships have agreed. That we do not know. What we do know is that except in an insignificant number of cases those who have disagreed have been unable to express their disagreement by voting.

### **Electorate disfranchised**

Unless there is a major change in the way the Parties present their programmes the electorate will again be disfranchised on these matters of major importance. The only way in which those who are in disagreement can put an end to their disfranchisement on these issues—the only way, that is, in which they can use their vote effectively—is by withholding it. This is the paradoxical situation to which the working of our parliamentary party system has brought us, but it represents the plain fact of the situation.

As we have indicated, we recognise that should the action as proposed by the Direct Action Committee work out at the polls to the advantage of the Conservative Party, it may be that those who will have brought this about will have sacrificed some marginal political advantage on secondary

Mr. Michael Foot, who wrote the Tribune article of such disquieting significance, is engaged on a series in The Observer in which he discusses the elimination of the influence of the voter through the Party control over the Parliamentary members. Mr. Foot believes, as we do, that the Labour Party as well as the Conservative Party, is a leader-dominated body. We have more than once in Peace News explained how this works out in the Party Conferences. Mr. Foot shows how it works out in the Parliamentary Party.

The decision that the Labour Party should support the manufacture of the H-bomb, for instance, was taken at a meeting of the Parliamentary Party that had had no prior notice that the subject would be discussed; the question of confidence in the leadership was at least as much involved as the question to be decided; and the closure was enforced by the will of a majority seeking to bring the discussion to an end.

On the H-bomb, therefore, it is not merely the electors who have been effectively disfranchised; it is their Parliamentary representatives also.

By Sybil Morrison

## **The Common Interest**

*But there is an important difference between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany. The difference is . . . that while Russia is an expansionist Power she is not a militarist one. Her rulers are not insane. They do not want war for its own sake . . . It is true that Russia wants peace partly in order to develop her own power . . . to spread Communism throughout the world . . . But it is not true to say that Russia and the West have no interest in common . . . Both have the one, great overriding interest in preserving peace and avoiding total war . . . Once that is recognised it may be possible to begin . . . the inconceivably difficult task of constructing some system of disarmament, inspection and control . . .*

—The Observer, January 18, 1959.

**I** MAKE no apology for once again using The Observer's leading article for comment since it is almost unique to find a reputable newspaper consistently putting forward the arguments which have been reiterated by pacifists for many years.

In spite of the fact that the wrong conclusions are drawn from the stated premise, nevertheless it is a matter for thankfulness that the inexorable logic of events has at last driven home the points that pacifists have been making, consistently and dauntlessly, to deaf ears and blind eyes for so long.

It is true that the dreadful disaster which now menaces the whole human race has brought into existence "a common interest" between nations that has never before been known. The common interest of military alliances is a completely different matter, since those alliances were invariably based on self-interest alone, and moreover were subject to change of mind, as well as, on occasions, broken promises and torn up treaties.

Today any break in the precarious nuclear fortifications means the onset of the holocaust, and the fact that no country dares, at this moment of mutual terror, to

take any step that would lead to the ultimate disaster, is something completely new in the history of the power struggle between nations.

The Observer editorial sees and points out the danger; it faces bravely the fact that Russia does not contemplate spreading Communism by means of blowing the world to pieces, and it makes plain the obvious fact that Russia wants peace in order to proceed with her own national plans.

The tragedy is, that though, at last, this rational recognition of the truth is openly

present in regard to the speed of our progress, we have a lot to be extremely proud of and thankful for. Despite the fact that the Labour Party still persists in its obscurantism, it is moving along the road; the Liberal Party—small as it is—is with us; and some of the Conservative Party are at least showing signs of wondering whether, after all, the bomb is a deterrent at all. Public opinion has been stirred, and we must see to it that it [the bomb] becomes a much more vital issue in the next Election than either of the main parties seem to think it is going to be."

The mention of a message from the Swaffham demonstrators in Brixton Prison called forth enthusiastic and prolonged applause. "I am all with you," Canon Collins continued, "but still feel we must follow the path of less glamour for some considerable time ahead yet."

Dr. Robert Jungk, writer, spoke of the responsibility of survival from one of the most terrible wars humanity has ever seen and the duty of doing everything against a new holocaust. "All the attention has been directed towards the Soviet menace—I myself am a lot afraid of it—but there is again the German menace. Not the Ger-

will want these weapons . . .

**'If we use the bomb...'**

"The vicious circle must be broken and some country must say that it will not allow these weapons to be experimented with on its soil, but will be ready to negotiate with any country willing to renounce the bomb. Why should not that country be ours? We talk of the wickedness of totalitarian powers and the danger of their using the bomb. We readily forget that we were the first to sanction its use. Why should we not be the first to take the risk of renouncing it?"

"One final point: It is said that if Britain were to give up nuclear weapons we should lay ourselves open to occupation by Communist powers. Even if we passed under the worst kind of tyranny imaginable the prospect would be more reconcilable with the Christian conscience than would be the moral wickedness of trying to defend our country by the use of nuclear weapons. So long as there is life there is still the possibility of redemption. If we used the weapons there would be no world for us to gain, and our soul would have been lost for ever."

through some "system of control and inspection" since it has been positively proved that no inspection can be infallible, and no control can be enforced. Disarmament coupled with "control and inspection" does not mean total disarmament, it means reduction, perhaps, but no more; it does not mean the end of war, it means continued reliance upon it for what is ludicrously called "the last resort," which in this nuclear age certainly will be the last!

Agreements that are based solely on a willingness to disarm so long as the other side does the same, hold no certainty of implementation, simply because the absolute essence of security is missing, and no controls, safeguards, or inspection can take the place of that basic need, which is trust.

The only deed which could ensure trust, and thereby obviate the necessity for inspection, would be the abandonment by one Power of war altogether, not because the leaders are afraid, but because they recognise that war is the greatest evil of our time, and repudiate it.

The only common interest today is peace; in the name of that common interest war must be abandoned.

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